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Mr. Wilson's Wars: II

In spite of his claim that he "kept us out of war," we have shown that Mr. Wilson made war on Hayti. He used the armed forces of the United States to impose an American protectorate on the Haytiens. He has also made war on the Dominican Republic, violating its territorial integrity, killing resisting natives and intervening by force to put and keep in power a government amenable to American influences.

The United States has a treaty with the Dominican Republic establishing American supervision of the collection of the Dominican customs and empowering the American general receiver to set aside part of the customs receipts for the purpose of paying the republic's foreign debts. This convention was ratified by our government on February 25, 1907, and by the Dominican government on June 18, 1907.

It is a fiscal compact, pure and simple. The United States, according to the text of the preamble to the treaty, merely engages to "assist" the Dominican government in funding, amortizing and redeeming of the Dominican foreign debt. But no right of political intervention is created, such as this country has enjoyed in the case of Cuba since the end of our military occupation and such as it has only this year established by force in Hayti.

In 1907 the Dominican Republic borrowed \$20,000,000 for use in clearing up its obligations then outstanding. It covenanted with the United States that our President should appoint a general receiver of Dominican customs and a staff of assistants. These officers were to set aside the amounts necessary to pay the interest on the \$20,000,000 bond issue, to amortize the bonds or to redeem part of them. A minimum dividend of \$1,200,000 a year was provided for. If the customs revenues for any year should exceed \$3,000,000, half of the surplus was to be applied to the sinking fund.

Between 1907 and 1911 the fiscal supervisors worked well. The republic became tranquil and regained a large measure of prosperity. In the last five years, however, there has been a steady retrogression. Revolutions have been frequent and administration has been lax and venal. The United States brought diplomatic pressure to bear from time to time to restore stability in administration. But the Dominicans had become more and more indifferent to that sort of pressure.

Last spring President Jimenez was impeached by the Chamber of Deputies. He refused to appear for trial and threatened flight. But he remained within a few days, explaining that he did so in order to avoid an American intervention. General Arias, leader of one of the anti-American factions, seized the city of Santo Domingo. But American marines were landed and he was ejected. The Chamber of Deputies elected Henriquez Carvajal Provisional President. Arias then withdrew to the interior and continued his revolutionary activities. American marines were freely employed to support the provisional government and to crush the Arias revolution. They spread overland and occupied Monte Cristi, Puerto Plata, Santiago and Le Vega. Many skirmishes occurred. Probably 75 to 100 Dominicans were killed. The marines lost one officer and three men. Early in July Arias capitulated.

Rear Admiral Caperton, commanding the American squadron, issued a proclamation to the Dominicans on June 25 last. In this he said: "The forces of the United States of America have entered the Dominican Republic for the purpose of supporting the constituted authorities and of putting a stop to revolutions and consequent disorders, impeding the progress and prosperity of the country."

It is not the intention of the United States government to acquire by conquest any territory in the Dominican Republic nor to attack its sovereignty, but our troops will remain here until all revolutionary movements have been stamped out and until such reforms as are deemed necessary to insure the future welfare of the country have been initiated and are in effective operation. The nature of the military enter-

prise conducted by Admiral Caperton was here frankly admitted. It was a case of political intervention—of armed intervention. It was war, whether the Administration chose to call it war or not. It fitted exactly the Vattel definition of war, which the judge advocate of the army recently recognized in an official opinion as the best definition to be found in the international law textbooks.

Vattel says that a state of war is "that state in which we prosecute our right by force." The President used force to keep a Dominican Provisional President in office and to nullify the right of the Dominican people to determine their own form of government through the processes of revolution.

In Mexico Mr. Wilson claims credit for following a different course. He has, according to his own statement, absolutely refused to interfere with the right of the Mexican people to determine their own form of government through the process of revolution, even though his failure to intervene has resulted in the sacrifice of scores of American lives and the spoliation of American property running in value into the hundred millions. He has said that he would not make war in Mexico in defense of American interests (although all the time making war there for other ulterior and personal purposes). But in the Dominican Republic he made war with the single object in view of preventing internal disorders which militated against the collection of customs dues sufficient in amount to pay the republic's obligations to its foreign bondholders.

We do not question the wisdom of Admiral Caperton's intervention. It is to the interest of the United States to reestablish order both in Hayti and in the Dominican Republic. These two countries must be rescued from anarchy in order to lessen the chances of their becoming a peril to us in our enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. There is every justification for armed intervention in these backward republics. But when we resort to force to accomplish our ends there, when we land marines, violate their sovereignty and territorial integrity and then announce that our troops are to remain on their soil until certain domestic reforms are accomplished to our satisfaction, we make war, whether we declare war or not. We draw the sword because we intend to coerce these backward nations into doing our will.

It is the sheerest sophistry to say that President Wilson has "kept us out of war." He has made war in Hayti, in the Dominican Republic and in Mexico. He has shed blood in all these countries—the blood of Americans as well as of natives. He has "kept us out of war" (for purposes of campaign argument) only by pretending that the armed forces of one country can invade the territory of another country, disregard its sovereignty and slay its citizens and still classify such operations as mere incidents of a state of peace.

Protection for the Pupils

In accordance with the education law of this state each child in the public schools outside of New York City must be examined once each year by a physician. The reports of this work in New York City for 1915 show that about 33 per cent of the children—305,665—were examined for physical defects. The metropolis, that is, is giving to only one-third of its school children annually the protection required by law for all the children of the rest of the state. That is why the budget estimates of the Bureau of Child Hygiene of the Health Department call for an additional \$75,000 for 1917, compared with the appropriations for the current year.

This proposed increase in appropriations is intended to pay for twenty-five additional medical inspectors, fifty-two additional school nurses and six dental hygienists. These additions to the staff will permit the examination of all children of school age each year, but they would reduce the number of pupils assigned to each medical inspector and nurse, thus enabling the city to come closer to performing the work deemed necessary for preserving the health of this section of the community.

It should be unnecessary at this time to point out the extreme importance of keeping any case of infectious disease out of the schools. In addition to that there always exists the desirability of detecting and curing disease or defects which are having a harmful effect on the physical and mental wellbeing of the child. Unfortunately experience has proved, from the results already accomplished by the school inspectors and nurses, that this task cannot be left to parental care alone. The Bureau of Welfare of School Children of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor recites that last year, of the 33 per cent of pupils examined, 72.6 per cent had defects requiring treatment, ranging from defective breathing to cardiac and lung diseases.

The policy of making these examinations and the need for carrying on such work by municipal agency are well established. What the city undertakes to do it should do thoroughly and creditably. The many urgent demands on the city treasury make it appear impossible to obtain sufficient funds to build up a staff

large enough to do the work completely, but at least the increase asked for should be granted so that the contemplated improvement in this service might be made.

Unnecessary

There will be submitted to the voters at the coming election the question whether there shall be held a constitutional convention next year to revise the state's fundamental law. That question was answered emphatically in the election last year, when the proposed new constitution drafted at a special convention was voted down by a tremendous majority.

The Tribune favored that proposed constitution. It believed this draft contained important provisions for the improvement of the machinery of government—provisions which would have made the government of the state simpler and less expensive, more responsive to the will of the voters and more responsible for its acts because the officials would have had more power and freedom of action. The voters did not take that view.

A constitutional convention next year could only be expected to thrash out the same questions which came up in the convention of 1915, representing about the same public sentiment, reaching about the same conclusions. On these questions and these conclusions the electorate has spoken. Under the circumstances it would be idle for the state to incur the expense of another convention, for which there appears to be almost no demand.

Women Doctors in England

Significance and a rather grim humor joined hands at the recent opening of the new London School of Medicine for Women. It is, of course, the war which has brought this triumph. A few years ago even the construction of the plant would have been impossible. Now it is thrown open amid a chorus of praise from every quarter and with no less distinguished patronage than that of the Queen. As one London paper related the event: "After fifty years of struggle, patience and faith the value of women in the profession is recognized by the Sovereign and the Royal Army Medical Corps, no less than by the poor and suffering."

The general run of comment is enough to make an American rub his eyes. Can this be the conservative England that rejoiced in suffragette martyrs? "It is difficult to remember at the present day the arguments used to warn women off the science of medicine," is the note struck. They were supposed to quail at the sight of blood. Continues an editorial in "The London Daily Telegraph": "To our contemporary mood it may seem a strange thing that a career which above all should be open to talents should have been for more than one-half of humanity so encumbered with unnecessary obstacles. We forget, just because it has become part of our daily life, how wonderful a change has been effected by the war. It has opened our eyes to many things; and not the least to the fact that our sisters are as well qualified to be valuable citizens of the commonwealth as their brothers. After the splendid work which women have done in this war it would not be easy even for the most retrograde and benighted mind to affirm that there are certain skilled professions which must be severely restricted to the male. Ability is strewn up and down both sexes; and no wonder mildly whether Columbia University is waiting for the demonstration of this fact by war at home before it resolves to open its law school to women. If and when that event takes place we commend to the occasion a little episode of the London medical school opening. After the national anthem a prize student arose and presented to her majesty a bouquet—"a prim and stiff arrangement in early Victorian fashion, surrounded by lace." There were smiles in which Queen Mary joined. Some like symbol of the Victorian era ought surely to play a central part in the ceremonies when Columbia belatedly awakes.

The Obedient Wife

It is the way of historic fables to lag behind the facts. Their impressiveness rests in no small measure exactly on the cold shoulder which they turn to modernity. So there need be no great surprise at the conservative attitude of the House of Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in postponing for three years the question of pledged obedience in wives.

The facts as to obedience in wives are as they have always been, only a little more so. The better man has always ruled in the home, as everywhere else, and no formula of religion or sanction of custom can change human nature materially. All the panoply of feminism cannot emancipate a clinging, inferior, feminine mind. About the only modern tendency to be observed is a little more freedom for the better man to come into his or her own.

The Recruiting Breakdown

Only a moderate increase in the numerical strength of the regular army of the United States was authorized by the legislation passed by Congress last summer. Yet it is regarded as virtually impossible for the Federal authorities to recruit these defense organizations up to the required numbers by the familiar old methods of coaxing, wheedling and pleading.

There is a report to the effect that the War Department is planning virtually a house-to-house canvass in its efforts to secure the recruits needed to fill the regular army ranks and keep the National Guard at 100,000 of population is needed. Another report concerns an order by the War Department to discontinue recruiting stations for the National Guard where it is apparent that results have been fruitful in comparison with the efforts put forth. Illinois, which under the Hay act should have 17,400 Guardsmen at the end of five years, is one of the states which give little promise of providing the required number of soldiers.

Church, this stimulating warfare, eye to eye, ensues; and to the victor belong the spoils. There may result an obedient wife or an obedient husband—or in the case of a drawn battle a supremely magnificent partnership. Preliminary oaths may color the first few weeks of a honeymoon. Once the combat settles down to trench warfare, the sheer weight of metal is bound to prevail.

Consumers, Organize!

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: I have been very much impressed with the letter which appeared in the Tribune of October 12, 1916, written by Walter Weed.

We all know that prices have gone up and are still going up, and most of us can hardly exist these days. It is high time that we followed Mr. Weed and "organize."

If the Tribune will kindly furnish Mr. Weed's address as well as that of "A Victim," whose letter appeared in your issue of October 7, 1916, I would be glad to communicate with them, with a view to getting together as soon as possible, and if we cannot accomplish something, we will at least try, and try very hard. I hope to hear from others also that are interested.

H. HERSKOWITZ.
714 DeKalb Avenue, Brooklyn, Oct. 18, 1916.

Waste in the Apple Crop

(From The Portland Oregonian)
It was a famous Pacific Coast manufacturer of mustard condiments who said that it was the mustard the people left on the plate that had made him rich. It appears also that the waste of apples in the United States has a distinct bearing on the market for that fruit and the price paid by the consumer. The forthcoming crop of apples is estimated at 67,670,000 barrels, which is something more than 200,000,000 bushels, or nearly two bushels for every man, woman and child in the country. How many millions of our people never get even an apple cannot be estimated, but the number is large. This is due to two factors—waste in the orchard and faulty distribution. Millions of bushels—too many to calculate—rot in the ground in sections where the growers do not have facilities for getting the fruit to market.

Other large quantities are lost through poor storage; still more by shipping to markets that already have been glutted, though there may be other towns and cities not far away that have insufficient supplies. One of the important elements in waste is failure to produce fruit of quality worth picking and shipment. The Pacific Northwest learned this lesson measurably some years ago, but there are growers yet who do not realize its importance. This season because the high prices of various insecticides and fungicides have induced parsimony in their application. We cannot afford to neglect our fruit trees altogether just because there is a war in Europe. And in some districts pests are getting foothold that will be making trouble long after the war is over. It must be kept in mind that we ourselves are responsible to a high degree for a public taste that demands excellent fruit or will buy none. The cull apple is practically a total waste. Even the space it occupies on the tree is devoted to the production of worse than nothing. But the grower who picks his fruit at all must pick the poor fruit with the good and then reject it in the sorting. It all takes time, and time is money these days. The difference between a clean orchard and a half-kept one is the difference between profit and loss.

Belgium's Passive Resistance

(From The Saturday Evening Post)
On paper no country was ever more completely conquered than Belgium. It is absolutely in the hands of its enemy, and within its borders not a finger may wag except by the enemy's permission. But that seems to mark the limits of the conquest, for, broadly speaking, hardly a finger will wag at the enemy's command. Negatively, Germany can do anything she pleases with Belgium; positively, apparently, she can do very little.

For example, Director Bicknell of the American Red Cross relates this episode in his survey: "Malines is the site of extensive railway repair shops, and as the operation of the railways by the Germans was steadily reducing the rolling stock through accident and natural wear, the German government decided that Belgian workmen formerly employed in the repair shops should be forced back into them. An order was issued that no more food be distributed by the relief committee until the men returned to the shops. Farmers and gardeners were forbidden to bring in their produce. No inhabitant was permitted to leave the city. Sentinels were posted about the outskirts and a barbed wire barrier erected around the city."

But the Belgians stubbornly refused to work for their enemy; the Red Cross protested; the Germans gave up the attempt. The present population of the country, Mr. Bicknell thinks, is 7,000,000, against 7,500,000 before the war. Pretty much the whole population refuses to perform work by which their food will be better. Passive resistance is almost unconquerable.

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The utility and wastefulness of experimenting with the voluntary defense system have been fully demonstrated.

FIRMNESS, NOT WORDS

Would Have Saved American Lives and Not Produced War

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: Evidently the plea that "he has kept us out of war" is one of those most depended upon to reflect President Wilson. It carries an inference that I do not accept, namely, that any other method than President Wilson's would have plunged us into war.

Unworthy use of this inference has been made by the Democratic candidates. President Wilson has said: "The only alternative of peace is war," and Vice-President Marshall has stated repeatedly, in substance, that the election of Mr. Hughes means war. This all depends upon the pure assumption that any other policy than the vacillating one of the present Administration must have led or will lead to war. What an example of fairness and logic by an ex-university president!

Consider our relations with the warring nations of Europe. At no time could one of the combatants afford to have the enormous resources of the United States enlisted directly on the side of her enemies. Germany played with the situation to get all she could without war with the United States, and by failing to convince Germany earlier of our determination to protect American rights the Administration sacrificed, in the meantime, many American lives.

Take, for illustration, the Lusitania crisis. Our note to Germany demanded "strict accountability." But at the same time, we are told, Secretary Bryan informed the Austrian Ambassador that the note was sent for political effect only, and a few days later President Wilson spoke publicly of a nation's being "too proud to fight." Was not a combination of official contradictions calculated to convince Germany of our earnestness and therefore prevent future aggressions?

Naturally there came a series of attacks on numbers of ships carrying Americans, each followed by a note threatening more than the Administration was prepared to do. Only when a widespread popular protest in the United States practically forced some action did the President openly threaten a breaking of diplomatic relations. Germany had played her game to the limit and stopped, but without any satisfaction for the past or real promise for the future.

My point is that more of convincing firmness and less of unfortunate and meaningless words would have saved many American lives, and that without one in a hundred.

In the days of John Hay American diplomacy reached the point where the United States said what she meant and meant what she said. But in these later days we have wandered afar and made a mess of leading us out of a wilderness of words.

And the strength of conviction, steadiness and moral courage which President Wilson lacks are possessed by the Cleveland and Charles E. Hughes. A. D. WETHERELL.
Middlebury College, Vt., Oct. 13, 1916.

Get the Right Man

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: Secretary of the Interior Lane is very insistent that the Republican leaders should indicate what they would have done in President Wilson's place instead of the things he did.

This constant harping on the question "What would you have done?" is childish and absolutely unfair.

Let us suppose the manager of a big industrial plant had brought the business to the verge of financial ruin. What course would the directors be likely to pursue? Would they make it a condition that the proposed new manager should first, to prove his efficiency, explain what he would have done which the incompetent manager had failed to do? By no means. They would select a man of proved capacity and say to him: "We place this great organization in your hands and expect you to rescue it from the ruin which now stares it in the face."

That is the condition of the United States today. Its affairs have been woefully mismanaged. The American people are called upon to select a new manager, and they have in Charles Evans Hughes a man who has been tested in many difficult positions (one being the Governorship of New York), and in every case has measured up to the demands made upon him.

New York, Oct. 16, 1916.

Mr. Wilson a Menace

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: On every side of our nation is the threat of serious danger. Any one of these situations may develop into a deadly war with all the suddenness of the great European struggle.

There is but one safe way to meet a dangerous situation—with firmness and courage. These will avert the danger if anything can.

In dealing with every one of our foreign troubles Mr. Wilson has shown himself lacking in these traits. He first said "Huerta must go," and sent troops to Vera Cruz. When he found armed invasion of Mexico, he meekly bloodied his hands, said, "We have no right to interfere in Mexico," "Too proud to fight," etc.

It is his very lack of courage, his vacillation, that makes Mr. Wilson, with all his good qualities, the most serious danger to this Republic that it has seen since the Civil War.

The men who fear war and the men who want peace at any price even had better fear Wilson far more than Hughes.

The election of Mr. Wilson would make war a certainty if an election could make war a certainty.

JAMES F. BOYDSTON.
Brooklyn, Oct. 18, 1916.

A Democratic Sign

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: Apropos of the letter of H. W. Arnold in your edition of the 15th calling attention to the electric sign of the National Democratic Club, it might be made more alliterative and expressive as a Democratic slogan if it read: "Pusillanimous Peace and Purling Futility!"

J. A. ROBINSON.
New York, Oct. 18, 1916.

WHY KEEP GUARD AT BORDER?

Either Intervention, a Potential Crisis or Border Raids Must Be the Cause—But Intensive Training Is Not Taking Place, Nor Are Troops Being Replaced

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: It is becoming of increasing importance each day for the country to consider what the National Guard is accomplishing on the border and what it is learning. As an ex-member of the New York division, just back from Mexico, I have been surprised to find how little is known in New York as to just what the boys are doing. In view of the fact that we have spent \$100,000,000 for this concentration and to maintain the guard on the border, and also in view of President Eliot's statement that President Wilson has accomplished such a wonderful thing by calling out the guard and showing the defects of the system, it is fitting that we should study into these defects somewhat.

The guard must be on the border for one of the following three reasons: First—That we intend to make war on Mexico and intervene; Second—That there is a potential crisis which may come to life at any minute which may necessitate our making war on Mexico; Third—That conditions are exactly the same as they have been for several years and the border patrol is needed to keep down raids, but there is no possibility of war; or else there is no real reason for maintaining the guard on the border because there is no war danger of war.

If either of the first two reasons for maintaining the guard on the border is correct, the training should be intensive and the training to prepare it to make war efficiently. If the third reason for maintaining the guard on the border is correct, suitable arrangements should be made as rapidly as possible to supplant the guard by regulars, as in this case a border patrol would be required for an indefinite period; and it is not fair to the individuals in the guard nor is it a wise economic policy to keep these men from their jobs indefinitely.

If, on the other hand, it is correct that there is no danger of war, then of course the guard should be withdrawn at once. The New York division of the guard on the border is not securing intensive training. The conditions vary somewhat in different regiments, but speaking for the major part of the troops the training includes about four hours' drill a day, three in the morning and one in the afternoon.

Military efficiency may be summarized under the headings—physical training, technical training and discipline. As to physical training: The guard has been somewhat hardened. Of this there is no question. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that under extremely severe conditions such as exist on the border a man either gains rapidly or loses rapidly. The true test is his recuperative powers, and the time which is required to bring him back to normal. The number of men who have broken down under the severe training is gradually increasing, but those who are holding out are gaining in strength. On the whole, the physical condition of the majority of the guard is improved, but not as much as might have been expected nor as much as should have been the case if a careful programme was laid out in which the excessive heat of the day would be avoided and all the work accomplished in the early morning or in the afternoon. This does not mean, however, that even the middle of the day need be wasted.

The medical conditions are notoriously bad. It is a wonder to all who have experienced it that men who are supposed to be of a rather high calibre should assume such a detached attitude toward the men. Instances after instance of sheer neglect, in some cases even resulting in death, have occurred in the New York division. When one

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UPSTATE VOTERS STAND BY HUGHES

North Country Republicans Have No Sympathy for Pessimists

(By Telegraph to The Tribune.)
Plattsburg, N. Y., Oct. 19.—Up here in the North Country voters are not in sympathy with Republican pessimism. They fail to see any reason for it.

John O'Brien, Republican leader of Clinton County and a man of might in the North Country, returned from New York yesterday. He felt very low in his mind, having had a talk with State Chairman Tanner and having heard and seen what there was to hear and see around Republican national headquarters.

The contagion of "blue devil" was communicated even to the normally optimistic O'Brien, and when he reached Plattsburg he had a mild case of the same disease from which Fred Greiner, of Erie, is said to be suffering. But Chairman Tanner and the glowing reports which his political lieuten